1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

848 613 children are abhorred and every effort is made to get the woman married should she be pregnant. Although her shame is great, it is nothing compared to the problems that the new individual will encounter unless people come to accept his mother's agnatic kin group as his—and whether that group will in fact accept him as a member. The pariah status of illegitimate children is easily seen in the widespread belief that they can only marry others like themselves or people of slave status.

59 So much then for the first two features of kinship, those of genealogy and descent. The third aspect, that of marriage relations, brings us much closer to what is commonly thought of as family life in western society. Using the anthropological jargon, we can sum up the kinds of relations invoked by a Kanuri marriage by saying that Kanuri marriage is polygynous with virilocal residence patterns which have a patrilocal emphasis and an exceptionally high divorce rate. In plain English this means that the men can marry more than one wife, up to four by Islamic law (they are polygynous); the wife invariably leaves her home to go and live with her husband in a place chosen by him (they are virilocal); and, this often but not always proves to be in the vicinity of, or even inside, the household of the husband's father (there is a tendency toward patrilocality). Finally, most Kanuri marriages, the [586] vast majority of them certainly, end in divorce.

58 Because a marriage usually involves the creation of whole sets of kinship links where none existed before, the way in which such changes are brought about and made "official," or publically recognized, is an important aspect in the anthropological study of marriage. Furthermore, such activities are also very important moments in the lives of the individuals concerned, who must see to it that all that should be done is done correctly according to traditional custom. Thus we start looking at marriage by describing its inception.

581 In thinking about a marriage the first question that any Kanuri man asks himself is whether he can afford it or not. That is, can he and those people on whom he can count for financial aid take on the expense of a marriage ceremony and bridewealth payments; and, if he can, how high can he go?

581 595 A man who already has a wife or wives knows that he must give gifts, supposedly equal to those going to the bride, to wives already married to him. He knows that the pressures for expenditures for drummers, food, transportation of the bride to his dwelling, and many other aspects of the ceremony, will very likely involve more of an outlay than he can readily predict. Can the capital be raised for such an undertaking? Most men are helped by their friends, their kin, and their political and economic patrons if they have any. Kanuri recognize the outcome of marriage expenses in their oft-quoted saying, "A man who is not in debt over a wedding is a man who has no friends."

583 Bridewealth payments form the basic marriage expense, and they can vary in size and elaborateness depending upon the status of the two family groups who are joined through the marriage, the marital history of the girl, the previous relationship of the groom to the girl's family, the bargaining power of each party to the marriage arrangement, and the time of year during which the payments are to be made. Although other factors can enter in and pull the bridewealth up or down in individual cases, these are the most effective determinants of bridewealth.

The payments themselves can be divided into three general categories, plus a "rebate." First there are one or more small gifts given to the girl and her rela-

widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is rejected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate. Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

alive (sororal polygyny) is an awesome idea, for it implies the sororate to them or wish for the death of a present wife.

In a few upper class households there are concubines who have the status of female slaves. These act as servants to the wives of the household and are used by the household head as sexual partners "any time you ask," as one informant put it. They are spoken of as being "half a wife." This refers to the fact that the husband gives them one half the amount of everything given to a wife. Generally they are too low in status to compete with the wives of the household unless they are considered exceptionally beautiful, or if they have given birth while the wife has not, and the child is recognized as that of the concubine. One informant very clearly explained his possession of concubines in economic terms. His household, he said, was very large, and he regularly fed twenty to forty people per day. This figure often increased to fifty or sixty on special occasions. The work of preparing so much food on time and regularly was simply too much for his wives, so he always has a number of concubines to help with the catering problems associated with his high status in the community.

Why do men want to get married? In answering this question men constantly reiterate cooking, food producing, and child-bearing. Cooking—to the unmarried man—is a most important point. Men never cook and if a man has no wife he must eat his food in the household of a relative or neighbor who is already married. This produces obligations by the unmarried man towards the married men which must be repaid with some service such as farm labor or running messages which signifies subordination. Thus a man with a wife can create obligation among unmarried men or at least avoid becoming obliged in this way to others. This is not, of course, the whole story. Women are also prized for their work in the fields. Indeed men estimate an annual increase or decrease in crop yield by referring, among other things, to the loss or gain of a wife.

Women on the other hand want wealth, although they often want freedom as well and more power in marriage than the culture allows for. This leads to trouble. But before we go into marriage itself, let us look at an actual case in which a man decides to marry.

Modu was twenty-six years old. He had been married twice; once for a period of nine months, then divorced and single again, then married a second time for a year and a half. In this he is no different from the vast majority (as high as eighty to ninety percent) of young Kanuri men his age. Now he was single again and living next door to his older-half-brother at whose house he was eating his meals. He wanted to take a wife and become independent of his older brother. He chose a new woman in the village about the same age as himself. She was visiting her elder brother who was a minor official in the district court. Minor though he was, his family was well-to-do and Modu was but a country peasant. The woman was beautiful and rather more sophisticated than local country girls, coming as she did from the city. Modu thought her most attractive in every way, even though gossip had it she had been married six or seven times.

Despite the gossip he decided to try and marry her, feeling that her past reputation made her available to the likes of him and not too costly in terms of bride-wealth. Late one afternoon he sent over some kola nuts using an intermediary; often people use old women for such purposes.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

For the most part relations between husbands and wives are highly formalized. They avoid using one another's names in conversation. In public only the most necessary interaction takes place between them when other people are around. Women walk generally behind their husbands when the two are going somewhere together, and even in the household the woman remains or should remain inside the compound. When he is not working, the husband sits most often in the entrance hut or in front of his household. A visit to a Kanuri household brings the husband to the entrance hut if he is inside, and at the same time the wife retreats out of sight. For the most part women remain in the company of women, and men with men. Only in a few rare cases have I ever observed public expressions of friendliness between a husband and a wife.

Cultural tradition has ordained that men are the dominant members of society, and women, more specifically wives, are to be submissive. This is both Islamic and Kanuri. It is good and seemly for a woman to obey her husband and to appear humble in his presence. Men decide where the family is to live, who a daughter is to marry, and a multitude of day-to-day questions on every aspect of family life. For a wife or indeed any family member to make a decision without consulting the husband-father is asking for trouble. Disputes between a husband and a wife, in which a man can refer to a breech of his authority as the cause of the disagreement, are invariably settled in his favor and might include physical punishment by the husband if the wife is very young. Thus a district head ruled against the plaintiffs in a case in which the husband had been accused by the wife's relatives of a beating which he had administered to her. The district head stated that the girl had been grossly disobedient and that it was the husband's right to punish such acts, especially in one so very young who was still learning how to be a proper wife.

One out of every two Kanuri marriages is a polygynous one. Thus a woman is very likely sometime during her life to be in a situation in which she is one of two or more co-wives. Relations between co-wives is governed by strict codes of procedure. Each wife has her own hut in the back area of the compound farthest from the entrance hut or gate. Each wife cooks her own food and raises her own children who sleep in her hut while they are small. When co-wives go abroad as a group to the wells or to a ceremony, the senior wife—the one married to the husband-in-common for the longest time—takes the lead with the other wives behind in a single file. Then come the female children in terms of their own relative ages. During a family ceremony the senior wife is the authoritative head of the women's section and directs the work of the others. Relations with the husband are strictly regulated. The general rule is that each wife performs her duties from sunset to sunset and the evening meal is taken after sunset. Every wife takes her own turn cooking the husband's food and that night she visits him in his hut. He may or may not have intercourse with her, but he must try to share sexual favors as equally as possible or else word about it will spread around in the family and cause tension between wives.

Although it is very rare to observe cases of long-standing co-wife relations because of the high amount of divorce in Bornu, the Kanuri always say that co-wives can become very good friends if they remain married to the same man for a long period of time. On the other hand it is fairly easy to observe co-wife relations that are stiff, formal, and even tense and hostile. One woman whom I know actual-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

595 ly badgered her husband into marrying a young girl. He finally acceded to her wishes and chose a previously unmarried girl from a nearby village. The bridewealth and marriage expenses sent the man into great debt, but he decided that it was worth it because of the increased prestige and because he believed his wife would now stop agitating him about it and have a young friend in the house that she said she had wanted for a long time. Only three weeks afterwards the senior wife began to to demand that the husband get rid of the new wife. "The young one was not helpful," she said, and she also accused the husband of favoring his new wife over her. Finally she threatened to leave if the new wife was not disposed of and the confused husband, worried over his debts, and angered because of her change in attitude let her go and divorced her rather than accede to her new demands. In another case a man announced to his wife that he was going to marry a new wife, and she flew into a towering rage which lasted for several days. She was only mildly contained by the many gifts and had several outbursts of temper during the wedding ceremony.

593 Although men are dominant by force of tradition, discrepancies are very
590 common in everyday life. I have observed women leaving their husbands' com-
562 pound against their wishes, and many are said to be unfaithful sexually. Indeed
837 this is a favorite topic of conversation and men who are intimate friends tell jokes
521 about who is having an affair with whose wife. Some women openly flaunt their husband's authority by threatening to leave him if he refuses to allow them their
593 own way. In many cases such inconsistency between the expectations of husband
586 and wife relations and the realities of everyday married life lead to divorce.

Only rare Kanuri have not been divorced once or twice during their lifetime, and many have divorced three and often four times; eight or nine divorces is not uncommon. When explaining divorces, husbands complain of their wives cooking badly, or not on time, or not enough; they also complain of visits to relatives and friends that they felt were unnecessary, of attendance at public dances or ceremonies, of their wives being dirty, or of adultery; but always they mention and stress some activity that involves the wife's disobedience. Wives when speaking of divorces complain of their husband's intolerance, of their activities outside the household, of their stinginess, or their lack of sexual attention or skill, or of their extra-marital affairs; sometimes they complain of co-wives, or the husband's lack of appreciation of their services, especially their cooking.

Most divorces occur in the first five years of marriage, and the husband almost always formally initiates divorce proceedings. This results from the fact that the bridewealth must be returned if the wife officially initiates the divorce. Generally speaking, women can informally initiate a divorce by behaving so badly that the husband has no recourse but to send her packing, thus forfeiting his bridewealth and submitting to her wish. In one case I knew, the mother and older brother of the young girl instructed her to behave badly because they disapproved of her husband's wish to take her to the city. He took her anyway but by the end of a month found it impossible to live with her and had to send her back to her relatives in the rural area. In a few cases women initiate divorces rather more forcefully. A favorite technique in this regard is to grab the husband by the collar of his robe and scream at him, "I won't let go until you say, 'I divorce you.'" A crowd gathers and the man invariably then capitulates by saying, "I divorce you." In very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

very often is, by divorce or death, or the movement of its members to a new place. While such changes occur, the household remains; its personnel may change, its landholdings may expand or contract, and its relations with other households through its household head may shift—but people see it as an organization in terms of which settlements are built into larger units; into wards, hamlets, villages, cities, and finally, the state itself.

The personnel of a household is based on that of the family, and generally moves through a cycle that may involve several alternatives to the usual pattern. Let us start with a couple. A young man marries for the first time, and in about sixty percent of the peasant cases recorded for three rural villages in Bornu, he brings his wife to the vicinity of his father's compound or moves into a section of his father's compound. If the latter is the case, he will move to his own compound close by after his own conjugal family (his wife or wives and children) increases in size either through the birth of children or the acquisition of more wives. When his own children grow up, his daughters leave to marry and return from time to time because of divorces or separation from their current spouses. Because many sons bring their wives to their father's household or close by, the original father finds himself the nominal head of a growing patrilocal extended family which, as we shall see in Chapter 6, can in time become a separate ward or sub-ward of the town. When the father dies, the oldest son or the most capable or successful of all sons takes over the compound of the dead father. Lands and goods are apportioned among the male heirs, although the person taking the father's role sometimes takes half the land and divides the rest equally among the living heirs. Thus in one case a man with three brothers took his father's fields and divided them in half. One-half he kept for himself, and the other half he split among the three brothers.

A problem that frequently emerges at this time is that of the mothers of half siblings—the wives of the dead man. The man who takes over his father's compound or household tends to install his own mother there as a dependent, since most old women are without husbands.[2] If she is a vigorous woman, she can become a powerful person in the household. Indeed in the royal household she has a special title, as we have seen, and was traditionally a noble-woman of great power. The other wives of the dead man must go and live with their own kinsmen, usually one of their sons. In one case this problem was intensified by the fact that the household head, a powerful political leader, had only one son and that by a concubine. When the present head dies, his senior wife, a woman of very powerful upper class affiliations will have to leave and her own slave—a woman very much junior to her—will be installed as the senior woman of the household. Such eventualities can cause tension between the members of any household who know that some day the power and authority relationships within the household will change hands.

In the same vein, siblings tend to drift apart after the death of their father. Even though they live close by one another, their unity and cooperation is not as great after the father's death as before. On the other hand, this can be ameliorated by social and economic factors which are important to keep in mind. Thus if a senior brother takes over a powerful political role, or a lucrative economic one, and

[2] As a woman approaches old age she finds it extremely difficult to remarry and thus most old women are resigned to being beyond the marriageable period of their lives.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and the boys go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology. In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself. During adolescence this training may become more serious, and boys who were not sent to live with their religious teachers before may go off to learn Islamic practices in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relationship. High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and changing throughout a person's childhood.

The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kanuri who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational network are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western society.

Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

779 593 Trimingham says, "...Islamic law recognizes only the simple matrimonial family of man, wife or wives, slaves, and their children, and the Malikite system gives absolute authority to the husband as its head."[1] The Kanuri exemplify this aspect of Islam. 779 595 The polygamous family is the sole kin unit of any significance.

779 595 567 Islam further dictates that a man may have no more than four wives, though he may have any number of concubines. A concubine (chir) is a slave taken by her master as a spouse. [554] Slaves have long existed as a stratum of Kanuri society, but only members of the Kanuri aristocracy have concubines. The status of the concubine is recognized by Islamic law.

779 582 With respect to marriage and the family, Islam permits or specifically prohibits a number of practices which, when taken together, exert a profound influence on social organization. Cousin marriage with both cross and parallel cousins, is permitted under Islamic law. 779 58 Sadak, strictly defined, is the Islamic marriage payment by the husband to the wife. It is her property, and is conceived of as payment for her virginity. Though not entirely equivalent to a bride-price, sadak becomes part of the bride-price. As indicated above, virginity at the [595] time of a girl's first marriage is strongly stressed. Seclusion of wives (kulle) is valued. The wali (Kanuri luwali) who represents the fathers of both parties at the signing of the

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 126.

369 632 121 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 [622] Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village. [463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors. [622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger, [565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are [595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and [591] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and 342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (*saadi*). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

611 centralized the political system the greater the tendency seems
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182 to be for the corporate strength of descent groups to be reduced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent."[1] This is particularly apt in describing the Kanuri. Fortes states that the Nupe, the Zulu and the Hausa exemplify this. Culturally, the Kanuri share a good deal with both the Nupe and the Hausa, who are also Sudanic state-societies influenced by Islam, and this similarity extends to their social organization as well. In fact, the Kanuri represent the most extreme development of these features, for whereas among both the Nupe and the Hausa patrilineal lineages and sibs are reported the Kanuri are clearly bilateral in descent, and do not have corporate kin groups at all.

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• 595 The most important social unit determined by kinship is
000 the nuclear or the polygamous family. Consequently, this section will be concerned with a discussion of marriage, residence, the family and the household. Other aspects of social organization which are not based on kinship, such as the class structure, will be discussed separately.

1. Marriage.

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587 It may seem curious to begin a section on marriage with a statement about divorce; nevertheless it is important to note at the start that the Kanuri divorce frequently, commonly, and

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1. Meyer Fortes. "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, 55, No. 1 (1953), p. 26.

It is accepted that a man court-
586 ing a zogor has sex relations with her. The zogor differs
836
584 from a prostitute, who takes money from each man who has sex
587 relations with her. Prostitutes are known, and the practice
548 of prostitution is abhorred; zogors exist everywhere as a nat-
831 ural part of Kanuri social organization. The zogor does not receive payment for her services, nor does she ever receive several men in one night, a characteristic of prostitution which the Kanuri particularly single out as repellent to them. A zogor regularly is visited by the same man for a period of weeks. Ideally, this ends in marriage; however, if they find themselves incompatible the relationship is terminated and someone else comes to court the zogor, while the man enters into a
626 new relationship with another zogor. A woman who prolongs her status as a zogor for several years, because she enjoys the freedom which is permitted a zogor, or because she enjoys the attentions of many men without the responsibilities of marriage, begins to be thought of as a loose woman by the community. Few men would marry such a woman because such a marriage would not be expected to last.

595 Should a man have one wife and wish to marry a second, a zogor, he would begin to pay attention to the zogor. Noticing this, his first wife might become jealous, and might ask him, "What are you doing talking to that zogor?" Should he answer that he wishes to marry her, the issue is settled, as it is perfectly reasonable for a man to contemplate taking a second wife. However, attitudes towards a second wife vary among Kanuri wom-

595 en, depending on a number of factors, and the husband would wish to determine his first wife's feeling on the subject before proceeding further. He might also want to examine his own feelings toward his first wife, should the possibility arise that she might refuse to accept a second wife in the household.

[837] Unlike the unmarried man, a married man is not supposed to sleep with a zogor before marrying her, since that would be adultery.

587 A man wishing to marry a zogor discusses the matter with her. If the marriage is acceptable to her, he pays the luwaliram money directly to her. Luwaliram for a zogor is much less than for a kalə yaskə. Whereas all marriages with a kalə yaskə involve the payment of sədagu, many marriages of a man with a zogor leave out the sədagu. Məri payment on marrying a zogor is no more than two or three shillings.

The husband-to-be buys kola nuts (goro) which he will distribute, while his wife-to-be begins buying and grinding millet which she will take with her to her new home. A zogor may buy six to eight shillings worth of millet which she pounds and grinds, and other foodstuffs such as wheat, rice, salt and pepper to take with her, but she brings less food to the new home than does a kalə yaskə.

The marriage ceremony itself is the same as that held when a kalə yaskə marries. Both husband and wife have a luwali who is responsible, in a sense, for the conduct of that person. The wedding takes place in the morning, and that evening women friends

587 of the wife, in numbers, bring her clothing and belongings through the streets to her new husband's home. Later that night the bride herself comes, accompanied by her very close friend (kususu). There is no ceremony corresponding to that which takes place when a virgin marries. The following day, her friends cook the morning meal for her. After that, she cooks her own food. A man with a previous wife who marries a zogor will [595] sleep with his new wife for three consecutive days. After the three initial days, he spends one night with each wife in regular rotation, as is the normal practice of a man with more than one wife.

589 [115] Bachelors are very rare. The primary informant in this area, Ya Mogorom, a woman of about fifty who is herself a grandmother several times, could not think of a single adult male who had never married, though she said that it did occasionally occur. Spinsters are just as rare, and Ya Mogorom could name only a sixteen year old girl who was not yet married as an example of an adult female who had never married. 583 836 Common-law marriages as such do not occur. A woman living with a man but not married to him is his nəmgəmtəm, and is quite distinct from his wife as she never cooks for him. 587 Until the age of fifty a zogor will remarry; beyond that she does not attempt to remarry. A man will remarry as long as he is able to have intercourse. 581 887 Sometimes old people marry for convenience, after they can no longer have intercourse. She cooks his food, and he provides her with clothing and other things.

596 592 in the household of the boy's father, or when an elderly parent is taken into his son or daughter's household, three generations are found living together. Most typically, no more than two generations are found living in the same household. These may be either nuclear families, or polygamous families.

• 595 Polygamy is preferred, though it is of course difficult to support two or more wives. Sororal polygamy is forbidden--a man may not marry two sisters; in fact, he is forbidden from visiting with two sisters who are both zogors (and therefore he would presumably be sleeping with them), since they are both potentially spouses.

A man's house is surrounded by the walls of his compound, and within these walls live all the members of his household. Each wife must have her own house with its small surrounding area. This is her zəgəsə (meaning a narrow area). It is preferable that the house areas of a man's co-wives be distinctly separated, so that one wife cannot hear her husband as he speaks to his other wife when they are alone. The zəgəsə are frequently walled off within the compound. Since the husband 422 593 usually builds his house, or has it built for him by his father, he is the owner, and theoretically he owns everything which belongs to his wife as well, her clothing and her personal effects, and the cooking utensils, storage pots, and household pos- [586] sessions. He can demand these things from her should she leave his house, though this rarely happens and she normally leaves, taking these possessions with her.

593 The husband has absolute claim to the sexual rights of his
• 595 wife. Should he have more than one wife, he must regularly alternate his stay at the house of the wife with whom he sleeps, spending one night in turn with each of his wives. Though he might not have sexual intercourse with her, he must spend the
[692] night in her house. Should he, for any reason, break the regu-
[684] lar alternation, his wife can bring him before the Alkali who would force him to observe the rule or dissolve the marriage. In this way, although the husband has absolute rights, the law once again helps to protect the wife. It can, and frequently does happen that a man will have preferences among his wives. He may recently have married a young girl whom he finds more attractive than an older wife, but he may not allow his attraction for her to cause him to favor her by sleeping with her, at night,
[846] more frequently than he does with his other wives. After a woman has borne a child, her husband must not have intercourse with her for forty days, but he must sleep in her house when her turn comes despite the fact that he may not have intercourse with her.

595 Where there is more than one wife, the wife who has been married to the household head for the longest period of time is senior wife in the household. This is a position of authority in the household. Though she may not curse or beat the other wives, she does give orders which are obeyed by the other wives. Disputes between lesser wives are settled by the head wife. If one lesser wife will not cease making trouble after being warned, the head wife may tell her husband that the lesser wife is a per-

595 sistent cause of trouble within the household and that he must divorce her. If the situation cannot be remedied, the husband will divorce the wife who is the cause of the difficulty. If there are only two wives in the household and they quarrel, the husband attempts to settle their disputes, though if they continue the husband may divorce one or the other.

593 595 The primary responsibility of the husband is to support his wives and children. The wives in turn cook the food and prepare meals for their husband. Each wife prepares the meals for her husband on the day when it becomes her turn to sleep with him. This task is central to the well-being of a household, and to continued pleasant relations between husband and [501] wife. Among the highest virtues stressed in a future bride are her abilities as a cook. In addition, the wives as a group prepare all the food for other household members, for visitors, and for others who regularly come to eat with a particular house-[252] hold. This frequently requires a great deal of work, particularly in pounding, sifting and grinding millet. The senior wife supervises food preparation of this kind, and distributes tasks to her co-wives which they perform under her direction.

[302] Each week the husband gives his wife market money to buy food for the week, and in addition he gives her a small sum to buy kola nuts (goro) and tobacco buds (fole) which she uses to [431] stain her teeth. If he is a good husband he buys her clothes, and gives her gifts of jewelry. In all these things a husband must treat each wife alike. Each must receive the same amount

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595 for weekly household expenses. If one is given a gift, the other must also be given a gift of equal value. No sign of preference of a public nature may be shown. Finances of husband and wife are maintained separately. Money earned by the wife through her own activities (for example, through trading) belongs to her, and she may spend her own money as she wishes.

Though the polygamous family has a certain overall organization, particularly in the structuring of relationships between co-wives, with a senior wife as head wife, it is also evident that each nuclear family within the household exists as a separate entity. The individual distinctiveness of the nuclear family can be seen in the emphasis on separate and isolated houses for each wife, in the discreet units of time which the husband is required to spend with each wife (he sleeps with each in turn and she cooks for him on that day), and in the separate and equal treatment which he is required to give each wife (equality of market money, equality of gifts). Emphasis on the distinctiveness of each nuclear family functions to preserve the identity of each wife and to stress her worth to her husband,

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152 the head of the household. It thus serves to inhibit jealousy, a divisive force which, if permitted direct expression, would shatter the unity of the household. Jealousy between co-wives finds expression in a number of less direct ways; it is not permitted to erupt into quarreling, cursing or fighting (though these certainly occur), and above all the husband must do everything in his power to avoid actions which might encourage jealousies between his wives.

000 ousies between his wives.

59 The separate nuclear families which make up the larger polygamous Kanuri family demonstrate an overall unity when one focuses attention on the household as a structural group. At the core of the household is the polygamous family, but the household may include many other individuals, both kin and non-kin.

595 855 [152] Polygamous families also appear much more unified when one attends to the behavior of adults towards children within the household. Though the presence of children is potentially the greatest source of jealousy between co-wives, particularly when one wife has borne one or more children while another has never borne a child, Kanuri attitudes and treatment of children within the household minimizes these jealousies. All women within reach of a child play with it, feed it, and watch over it. Children wander freely in and out of the houses of their father's wives (their ya chinta), and differences between co-wives are not permitted to extend to their children. In effect, children bridge rather than emphasize the gaps between co-wives and between nuclear families.

5. The Household.

592 It is a natural step to move from a consideration of the polygamous family, the central kin group in Kanuri society, to that of the household. However, though the household has the polygamous family at its core, it is not primarily a kin group.

592 [602] Relationships within the household are patterned after kinship relations, and kinship terminology is used in referring to these relations, but kinship is not the basis for establishing these relationships in the first place. The household is a corporate group, in that its membership is clearly defined, it operates with common interests of the group in mind, and the household group is itself structured and dependent upon the fulfillment of mutual obligations. In this sense, the household group among the Kanuri is functionally very similar to the corporate kin group in a society with unilineal descent.

The household is made up of all those individuals living within compound walls; the physical definition of the compound [594] corresponds to the social unit of the household. A household may be as small as two people--husband and wife, and in a statistical sense the commonest type of household is made up of 592 the nuclear family. It was noted that in the small villages 369 wealth differences between various members of a village were 565 slight, and consequently polygamy tends to be rare. It follows, too, that under those circumstances the household is small, usually no larger than the nuclear family. In the larger towns, households may be very large, since households vary directly in size with the wealth and social class of the household head. Many of the factors which enter into the growth of a man's household concern the system of social stratification among the Kanuri. Some indication of the nature of social

592 567 particularly acknowledges the relationship between them, unless the slave should be in the direct presence of the man who he knows is his master. However, the relationship between master and slave determines the behavior of both at all times, when 592 567 595 the slave is part of his master's household. A female slave may be chosen as a concubine (chir) by her master. She then becomes part of his household. Though a man may have no more than four wives, he may have any number of concubines. A chir enters into a special class of concubines when she becomes a murshe. She is then given a house of her own, and has a distinct legal status, slightly different from that of a wife, but with its own strictly defined rights and obligations. Like a wife, a murshe must have her own house. A husband spends one night with a murshe, and two with a wife, in regular rotation. However, here the husband has an option--he may spend no more than one night with each murshe, but if angry at a particular one, he may pass her by. The murshe prepares the master's food on the day when it is her turn to sleep with him, just as a wife would do. She also shares in all the economic tasks which fall to the woman in a household.

592 567 565 The household of aristocracy, therefore, may include slaves, both male and female. Male slaves (kalya) may be young boys and youths who live in the forak area of the compound, or they may be married men who live with their own nuclear families in areas of the compound alotted to them, and are included, along with their families, as part of the master's household. Female

582 from Table VI that in the Geidam sample the median age of marriage is 20.25 (mean age is 21.35), but that the range is very great, extending from one individual who married at the age of twelve to one who was not married until the age of thirty-five.

582 463 565 Of the eight categories presented in Table VI, only one seems to differ considerably from the norm in age of marriage, that one being the Canteen Traders. Four of the six in that category married later than the median age, two as late as age twenty-eight. This is interesting because the standard explanation for late marriage is that the individual must work to save money for a bride-price. However, Talaka seem to marry rather early while wealthy traders marry late. This would lead one to suspect that there is also a proportion of individuals who delay marriage until they consider themselves capable of supporting (or needing) a wife, and that this delay results in late marriage for a number of young men who might well have afforded the basic bride-price years earlier.

595 Table VII presents data on the number of wives had by each of forty-four men. Exactly half of the men in the sample have one wife; sixteen men have two wives; one has three and two have four wives; three have no wives--one of these is twenty-five years old and has not yet married--and the other two divorced wives not long ago. Only two men have concubines: Yerima Mustapha has five, and one wife; while Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief

595 565 554 463 Scribe, has one concubine given to him by Kaigama. Comparing the mean number of wives for the various groups, it is clear

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 199]

[GEIDAM]

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Table VII
Present Number of Wives

	0	1	2	3	4	concubines	Mean No. of wives
Aristocracy	-	3	2	-	-	1	1.4
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	-	1.7
Canteen Traders	-	-	3	1	2	-	2.8
NA Malams	-	3	3	-	-	1	1.5
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	-	1.5
Craftsmen	-	4	2	-	-	-	1.3
Talaka	1	7	-	-	-	-	.88
Low-status	1	3	-	-	-	-	.75
Total no.	3	22	16	1	2	2	

that the canteen traders have significantly more wives as a group, while the talaka and the low status individuals have significantly fewer wives. Among the canteen traders are found the only two individuals who have four wives; among the talaka and the low status individuals none have more than one wife and two do not have any.

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The many differences between marrying a kalə yaskə (virgin) and a zogor (divorced woman) have been discussed at some length. Table VIII presents data on the percentage of zogor and kalə yaskə among the present wives of individuals in the sample. Under a (Present Wives) it can be seen that the first four categories have married predominantly kalə yaskəs while the bottom four have overwhelmingly married zogors. The cultural ideal is for a young man to marry a kalə yaskə at his first marriage. Most individuals in each of the eight categories have in fact

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201]

592 feet tall, but vary from place to place.

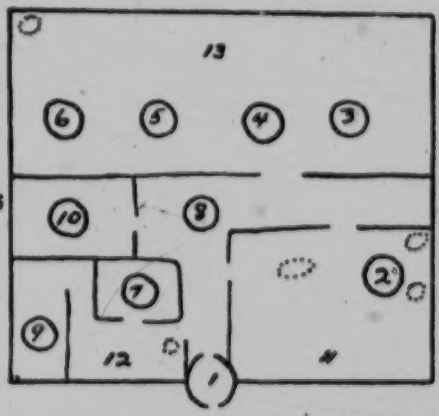
592 181 The diagram below gives an "ideal" picture of a Kanuri household, although it is an example which was actually observed.(1) It is called "ideal" because it is not a universal pattern, but is the embodiment of what each young man dreams of aspiring to if he is successful in life.

DIAGRAM OF "IDEAL" KANURI COMPOUND

Legend

1. large entrance hut
2. hut of compound head
3. hut of senior wife
4, 5, 6. huts of other wives
7. hut of son
8. hut of mother of compound head
9. hut of son's wife
10. hut of servant
11. horse stall
12. son's horse stall and granary
13. garden area

dotted lines show granaries



592 Only prepubertal boys and females are allowed into the women's section at the back of the compound. Most of the male social life takes place in front of the household or in the large entrance hut. More intimate male friends of the family may come into the male quarters of the compound, although this is not a frequent occurrence. The mother of the household head whose extreme age makes her role more asexual has a hut (8) less secluded than those of the wives of the household. In good Kanuri fashion, the compound head is supporting his widowed mother.

(1) It is a diagram map of the compound of the Village Head of Magumeri. To make it more typical one hut has been deleted beside (6) which housed a concubine. The direction of the house - facing west - is typical for all huts but not all compounds, except those of political leaders.

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585 the receipt of gifts from friends and relatives. Secondly, within this overall expense there is the bridewealth itself. Thus when considering marriage in Bornu it is necessary to distinguish between the capital outlay made for "taking" a woman, and the total capital outlay for initiating and going through with a marriage proceeding.(1) A Kanuri male can usually recall the exact figure of his bridewealth for most of his past marriages, but has some difficulty in remembering the entire marriage cost of all but the most recent of his nuptials.

[128] Rather than abstract out bits and pieces of the events of the marriage costs it will be more comprehensible to give a brief description of the payments made in connection with marriage inception in the chronological order of their occurrence.

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584 In the case of a virgin marriage, negotiations are initiated through a gift called the kwororam (the asking-a-question fee or gift). This gift is given most commonly by an intermediary for the husband to the luwali (guardian) as a gift to the girl's mother and/or senior female relatives. Included may often be a small gift for the girl herself. Information varies as to the amount of kwororam. Some felt that it should be fairly small, running from one to two pounds in cash value for the soap, cloth, pomade, perfume and other female sundries of which it was made up. But the amount is indefinite and there is room for haggling. One informant reported being told by a young girl's luwali that although he was certainly the favoured suitor another man of higher rank had been offering a slightly higher bridewealth payment. The anxious suitor was

[192] (1) The Kanuri never use the verb "to buy" when referring to marriage,
[595] substituting instead the verb "to take". This was explained as being a necessary distinction in the old days when concubines could be bought in the markets, while wives were always married, i.e. "taken".

A man who started using his wife's dowry without her knowledge and consent would have a fine argument on his hands immediately and most probably a divorce proceeding. One mother turned her young adolescent son over to a judge for a whipping because he took one of the enamel plates from her dowry to sell for cash. A woman's concept of her own personal worth is tied closely to her dowry. During her youth, it is the material expression of her relationship to her own family background. Later, as her independence grows and she adds to the dowry, she looks on it more as her personal property, her savings, which give her a measure of value in her immediate society. She can say of herself that she has 250 enamel dishes, while her younger co-wife has only 125.

The Kanuri recognise different varieties of marriage and have separate terms for each of them. Whether these are in fact different forms is a question of interpretation which will be discussed later.

The first and most important distinction about a marriage concerns the virgin status of the woman. This consequently divides all marriages into two broad categories depending upon whether or not the female has ever been married before. If she has, the marriage is described as kamu gwojin (he takes a woman). Conversely, if the female is a virgin, the union is termed a fero gwojin (he takes a girl or virgin). All informants agreed that union with a virgin is the most highly valued form of marriage in their society. They explained this by pointing to the chaste state of the girl. She is not used, they say, and this is good. However it should be noted that informants were also agreed that virgin girls were not sexually exciting or attractive. One informant, a man of about forty years of age was observed in almost constant prayer for a whole week preparing for his first night of virgin marriage which very nearly ended in failure, only succeeding on the second attempt with the aid of magical devices.

As a man and woman grow older they demand and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's luwali to whom it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and authority of her luwali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who is left freer to make her own liaisons. The upper class woman although not in purda during her divorced status must be much more delicate and restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appearance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper class woman by her luwali after her first one or two divorces than does the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early divorce are rare.

During the harvest season (November to February) divorced women (gower) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the temporary liaisons to marriage. Men at this season are similarly inclined but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. With a few exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. The exceptions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the expression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest

587 is still solemnized at a sada'a ceremony as at all weddings. With her
562 growing freedom in life a woman exerts a progressively stronger independence in her marriage choices. It was observed (but not measured) that the rate at which this occurs in the life span of women is increasingly rapid as one descends the socio-economic scale, and increases as well with the number of divorces per woman.

567 To complete the discussion of types of sexual unions, it
595 might be well to digress slightly at this point to include a brief description of concubinage. A concubine (chir) is a female slave who obtains this status as a result of her birth as a daughter to a male slave (karliya); once having been ascribed the role of chir by her birth she is groomed for a life concubinage. She is considered part of the household property, the inheritable property of the agnatic lineage of her father's owner. She may be given away as a gift to someone (without a wedding) or she can be kept in the family of her father's master. Formerly she could be sold. Once she is sexually mature she is available sexually only to her master unless her master gives her permission to marry someone, for example, another of his slaves. Any children she has as a result of union with a free man, i.e. her master, are themselves free, for slave status is determined by that of the father. This means that the slave population in Bornu is reproducing itself only through the efforts of functioning male slaves who are producing children.

A concubine is primarily a sexual partner to her master and a mark of his high status. She is also a servant to her owner's wife who may use her to do household work, carry water, etc. In several cases slave owners told of using both male and female slaves for farm labour. There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with concubines as there

567 There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with 130.
595 concubines as there
[833] are with wives. A man may sleep with his concubine any time he wishes
[941] or avoid her as much as he pleases, whereas it is mandatory that he spend alternate nights with wives even if one is menstruating. Conflicts may arise between wives and concubines if the latter is overly
567 favoured sexually by the husband. A more serious cleavage arises in
595 the circumstances of the wife's being barren and a concubine having
593 given birth to a son and heir to her master. It is known by all that
428 one day the son will succeed to a large portion of his father's wealth plus his position as household head. In such a case the boy's slave mother knows that eventually she is to become the respected senior
[184] woman of the compound in which she is now a menial. Although one case was observed, it must be emphasized that such instances are rare in
554 the contemporary society. Only political leaders from the level of
567 town head up, and hereditary nobles were observed to keep concubines.
595 An extremely wealthy trader, who felt very proud of his four wives in
178 seclusion, answered that it would be improper of him to have a concubine because he was only a trader. Seventy-five years ago a man of his position would have had a score of them.

567 Several upper class informants spoke of the traditional prac-
595 tice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circum-
281 cision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn
178 about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago, generation was recorded).

595 When a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife it is customary for him to give a sum equal to approximately half the luwal-

• 595 iram to spouses living at that time in his compound. In addition he gives to his current wives presents of soap, perfume, clothes, etc. equal to about half the value of similar gifts given to the new bride. In practice this is extremely various, depending upon the wealth of the male, and his estimation of his present spouse(s)' potential jealousy and opposition over the new wife. One informant was observed who, after giving his wife a substantial cash gift (under half of the luwal-iram), matched the clothes given to his new bride one for one by gifts to his present wife. It is almost universally accepted that successive wives should be younger than one another. This is followed quite widely in practice, at least for the age difference between present wife (only one) and incoming wife. This insures that the authority and rank ordained by custom be represented by an age difference which always allows for a smoother operation of the principle that the wife already in the compound is kamu kura (senior wife).

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[589] Frequency figures on polygyny from Magumeri town are atypical because of its position as District Headquarters. This means that a larger proportion of single males are present than is usual in rural areas, especially since Magumeri is one of the smaller District Headquarters, and the administrative personnel and their subordinates (these latter are often single young men) make up a larger element of the population than is commonly the case. The following table on number of wives is taken from figures gathered between July and November of 1956, given by 78 household heads in the towns of Magumeri, Chingowa, and Ngubura, which form a triangle to the south of Magumeri, each being

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[361]
(1)

[595] (1) Therefore these data were collected before the harvest of the 1956 crop which brings on the marrying season. The respondents ranged across an extremely wide range of occupations, but all kept up a compound and all worked farms near their towns.

595 632 162 [361] [366]

five to six miles from the other. Magumeri and Ngubura are market towns on the main road to the urban center, while Chingowa has no large weekly market and is off the motor road except for a few months in the wet season when its higher position on a ridge places it on the route of the rainy season road.

Frequency Distribution of Wives Among 78 Male Household Heads

Number of wives	0	1	2	3	4		
Number of males	6	33	31	5	3	Total	78 males
Total number of females	0	33	62	15	12	"	122 females

Thus a total of 78 males had between them 122 women as wives or an average of 1.56 women per man (polygynous households in sample = 50.0%).

595 [128]

Although it is probable in the extreme that many of the household heads questioned have since changed either the number and/or the persons of their wives, it is felt that this distribution is a representative and reliable description of Kanuri polygyny.

The quantitative data given gives strength to the qualitative observation that it is just as common to see a man with two wives as it [184] is with one in peasant households. This means that we may evaluate Kanuri polygyny as a well-integrated cultural element that is not only practiced by the wealthy and the powerful, but which has real meaning and behavioural consequences throughout all levels of the society.

593 In the marriage relationship itself, cultural tradition directs that the male play the dominant role. He gives his wife (or wives) their market money weekly, their millet for cooking from his graharies, and among high status persons, he usually keeps them secluded as much as possible in his compound. He supposedly makes the major decisions concerning himself, his wife and children, and their

3. Length of Marriage

593 The longer a couple remain together, the greater the intimacy that grows up between them. Marriages that often begin with the male in the dominant role, leaven gradually with the years. The woman comes to know more and more of her husband's hopes, fears, ambitions, sorrows, and responsibilities. As this occurs she assumes more and more of the role of trusted friend and partner to his decision making, and finally a point may be reached where the man will admit confidentially that he would not make any major decision without consulting this particular wife, because she is so used to sharing in his life that she would be hurt and angry if not consulted. After a very long period of such a partnership, a man who makes a decision against his wife's judgment, usually has quite a battle on his hands.

593 With the longer term of residence in the husband's com-
592 pound and the birth of children, especially sons who will continue the
602 patrilineage into the next generation and maintain the household and their mother in her old age, the wife slowly begins to shift her primary affiliations from her own agnatic group over onto the household organization of her husband. Along with this shift the husband's agnatic group, especially the son (s), feel that the household organization includes as a primary senior participant, their mother who by formal definition is, of course, an affinal relation in the household, but who through long years of residence in the compound of her husband, has come to be identified as one of its basic, stable, human components.

593 This variety of long term marriage is more common among the
[595] upper ranks of society where more women tend to remain longer with
[595] their husbands, than among the peasant classes. Usually only one wife is involved, even if there are others. This is often accompanied by a

593 This is often accompanied by a
595 more rapid turnover in other wives who tend to resent the close re-
586 lationship of the longer term wife with the common husband.

4. Status of Wife's Family

593 565 Among marriages where the woman or girl has come from a higher ranking family than the man's, the woman has a potential lever which she may use to ameliorate male dominance. She realizes that her husband's connection to her family is one of the foundations of his social status and ease of divorce makes her connecting function somewhat tenuous. On the other hand, her family may be interested in maintaining their relationship with her husband, and thus attempt to limit her behaviour to a position more in line with cultural ideal of submissiveness, in order to keep her husband satisfied, as well as honouring their own positions as givers of not just wives but of "good" wives.

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5. Personality Factors

593 156 Needless to say, the particular personality make-up of the husband and wife helps determine whether or not the traditional pattern of male dominance is possible. Fearful, timid, submissive men do not make strong, dominating husbands, while independent, strong-willed women do not easily become subservient, humble and docile wives. The cultural pattern may be reacted to in different ways. It is anxiety provoking to those men who fail, or are afraid of being unable to dominate, while it may serve as an outlet for aggression and hostility on the part of disappointed men who have failed elsewhere in their lives.

6. Socio-Economic Status of the Husband

593 557 As was noted above, a man needs a wife to cook his food and return hospitality, as well as to provide food for men who have no wives, which helps create obligatory relationships for the male. The

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183 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most of the people.

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562 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence [554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given only sham acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a paragon of virtue and reap the benefits of status which such a reputation confers.(1)

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836 Men may marry up to four wives in the Muslim world and be-
562 cause there are always zower (divorced women) in Bornu who are avail-
[595] able sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical standards give to men much freedom of sexual behaviour at all times whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand, a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

[829] [709] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful." His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous; so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have power to inflict good or evil on others.

434 in Bornu are made up primarily of full time farmers and semi-subsistence
463 farmers who practise craft work as well.

434 Sixty per cent of the changes in income reported are the
571 result of the acquisition or loss of tada njima. Apprentices are included in this category since they are subordinate to the household head. Thus the number of subordinates in a Kanuri household is a primary correlate of its economic rise or decline. Other reasons given are
434 fairly self-evident. Loss or gain in wives is much less a factor in
595 non-agricultural income. The only exceptions to this rule are the husbands of some (not all) potters whose wives give them a weekly cash income from the sale of pots. In the two cases listed above, both men report that an extra wife has freed them from some agricultural duties thus giving them more time for trade in one case, and craft work
434 in the other. In the two cases of income change due to membership in
571 an extended household organization, both these men are subordinate members of a Lawan's extended household. The loss or gain of new wholesale sources is treated in more detail in the discussion below on trade.

433 The following cases, taken from two of the budgets of Kagumeri craft workers, illustrate the scale of production in rural Bornu which has been described above.

Ka'anami, the calabash maker

592 Ka'anami lives in a compound with four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his full younger brother, and his father's sister, an old woman. The compound, although fully enclosed, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, grows a cash crop and makes a few calabashes from time to time. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given food by the old woman.